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THIRD ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF MARYLAND.

BY

WILLIAM H. COLLINS,

OF BALTIMORE.

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To the People of Maryland.

Amidst all the troubles which surround us, it has been to me most fortunate that the paramount allegiance I owe to my country has been perfectly consistent with the loyal attachment I have ever felt for the State of Maryland. Her interests and honor, I believe, are firmly bound up in the Union. If that Union be broken, either on the Potomac or on Mason and Dixon's line, Maryland will receive a heavy blow. To part her from her sisters of the South is to paralyze her left side; whilst to separate her from her sisters of the North is to paralyze the right. Maryland is still in the Union. I believe her only safety is to be found in its perpetuity.

It is often said that the boundaries of governments are fixed and controlled by advantages of trade and commerce; that commercial prosperity is the first thing to be secured in settling the boundaries of a people. There is, however, another question which rises high above commercial advantages. SECURITY *is the master-principle.* No State can attain high and permanent prosperity unless her boundaries are defensible by her sons; whilst her women and children, her aged and infirm, are safe around their hearths, and her operatives free from interference with their industrial pursuits. Liability to the occupation of the enemy during war, is fatal to any State. It will break down the spirit of a people. It exposes the women and children, the old and the infirm, to a series of insults and wrongs, at the mere contemplation of which the heart sickens. No race can maintain

its vigor unless its borders be defensible by the courage of her sons.

What would England be but for her ocean girth? What else defended her from the legions of Napoleon the Great? What else secures her now from the armies of the nephew, scarcely less great and powerful than the uncle? Her belt of sea and her command of the ocean, have kept the homes, the agriculture, the manufactures, the trade of England, free from the injuries and insults of a foreign foe for hundreds of years. What would Switzerland be but for her mountain barriers? The Alps long sustained the decaying grandeur of Rome. Nice and Savoy have recently fallen to France for reasons of military strategy. They lie on the French slant of the Alps. The boundary of the Rhine is at this moment the subject of daily anxious thought by the Emperor. No one knows better than he, how much that boundary would add to the security and grandeur of France. The longing gaze of Russia on Constantinople, ever since the days of Peter the Great, reveals the security she would feel from the possession of the Straits of the Dardanelles, and the consequent exclusive possession of the seas of Marmora and the Euxine.

No nation ever had such boundaries as the United States. Oceans separate her from the vigorous civilizations of Europe on the East, and the decaying nations of Asia on the West, for thousands of miles. The Gulf of Mexico and the Rio Grande on the South, divide her from the feeble government of Mexico; whilst the Lakes and the St. Lawrence separate her from Canada on the North; which though in many respects a fine country, can never prove our equal in power. Give us but internal peace, and the plough, the loom, and the anvil, may pursue their busy course, and our firesides for centuries to come will be free from the pollution of an invading foe. With free trade amongst ourselves, and abundant supplies of food, cotton, tobacco, coal, iron, timber, and manufactures for other countries, our trade with

the nations of the world will lay them almost under a necessity to maintain with us the most friendly relations.

Such, People of Maryland, is the rich heritage you received from your ancestors. Efforts are now being made to divide this more than imperial domain. As a loyal son of my Country, I claim to lift my voice against the profanation. I speak in the interests of no party. I acknowledge no party allegiance. I am for the whole country from Ocean to Ocean —from the Gulf of Mexico to the Lakes. I love it all. I seek the welfare and honor of the whole. It is all my Country. Its glory is in union ; its dishonor is in separation.

If, in some mad hour, whilst patriotism is drunk with the fumes of passion, a division should be proposed, where will you draw the line? If you consult the courses of streams and mountains, and a division must be had, it would naturally be into three parts. One, the great Valley of the Mississippi ; stretches from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains ; and from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and the Rio Grande. Nature says this whole region must belong to one power, either by agreement or war. Another, the Atlantic slant, stretching from the Alleghanies to the Ocean, includes the North-Eastern States and a large part of Florida. This region is substantially the same as the old thirteen States of our Union. The other, the Pacific slant, stretches from the Rocky Mountains to the Ocean.

If a separation must take place these divisions would be in accordance with natural boundaries and the necessities of strategic defence. But the Pacific slant does not wish to separate from the others. The great Valley of the Mississippi, which is bound together by common interests, and boundaries, and rivers, and outlets, can never belong to two nations. The owners of the streams above must have a common property with the owners of the lower part of that Valley in its noble outlet, and the shores of the great Gulf into which it flows. Treaties, conventions, agreements, are abrogated by war. The rich fields and prairies of the upper

part of that great Valley, and the teeming alluvial plains of its lower part, must belong to one and the same government. He who shaped the world, and gave it its slants, and drains, and outlets, has left stamped on the natural features of this noble region His irrevocable decree, that one nation must own it, either by agreement or conquest.

The Atlantic slant, including the New England States and the larger part of Florida, if it must, in some evil hour, separate from the great Valley of the Mississippi, would seem to be united by common interests in one government. Should a separation, however, take place in that slant, it seems to me there are reasons of the most imperative kind which would include in the northern part the whole of the waters of the Chesapeake Bay.

Before stating my reasons for this opinion, and to bring the question nearer to the practical issues of the present day, it is proper to say, that in the division of our country now sought to be made, it is proposed to ignore the boundaries imposed by nature, and to divide on artificial lines, dependent on the shifting accident of the peculiar kinds of labor used in different parts of the country. It is as if the woodman should try to split rails against the grain and not with it.

If, however, a line of separation is to be drawn on the Atlantic slant, where shall it run? I have already intimated that the Chesapeake Bay, and the streams emptying into it, together with the lands which they pierce and fertilize, will, for reasons stronger than human power, remain with the northern part of our Country. If I read the map aright, Nature has so willed it.

It is deemed conclusive that, in the event of separation, the northern part of the Country will be the maritime power. He who doubts this would scarcely be trusted by the strong common sense of the American people. If any thing in the future can be foretold, this would seem to be certain. Let the men of business, the thinkers, the statesmen of our Country, ponder this proposition well. Much depends on it.

To my apprehension it is as certain as any proposition can be which deals with the future.

Some twenty miles from the mouth of the Chesapeake lies the Hampton Roads, one of the noblest harbors of the world. Large enough to float in security the navies of the earth, its mouth is narrow though of easy access. Fortress Monroe completely guards its entrance, and renders the harbor safe in war from an enemy. To the maritime power of our country that harbor, as a refuge from the tempest or the enemy, is of untold value. From the port of New York, and along the southern coast around the peninsula of Florida, no such harbor exists for the thousands of northern ships engaged in commerce with the Gulf of Mexico, or with South America, or around Cape Horn, or with the West Indies. In peace and in war, Fortress Monroe is to the northern part of our Country more precious than Gibralter is to England. When England agrees to give up Gibralter, then, and not till then, will the United States agree to surrender Fortress Monroe and Hampton Roads.

But the possession of the Hampton Roads involves absolute control over the commerce of Norfolk and Portsmouth, as also of the James River which empties into those roads south of Fortress Monroe. Will Virginia ever agree that the great harbor at the mouth of her noblest river, commanding the commerce of Richmond and Petersburg, as also of her great commercial emporium, Norfolk, shall belong to a foreign power? She cannot. She will not. It would be her utter ruin. Will the North ever agree to part with this noble harbor, so necessary to her commerce, and with the fortress which commands it? Never! Never!

The question then is, can Virginia, with the aid of her southern allies, take Fortress Monroe? If the South had a navy stronger than that of the North, she might take it. But so long as the North is the maritime power, I suppose this fortress to be impregnable. Its garrison, if need be, can be relieved by fresh troops daily, its sick and wounded removed, its wants supplied even to the most minute, with-

out any possible interference by any troops on the land. I say nothing of the Rip Raps; though that fort, if finished, as it can easily be, would add greatly to the command of the harbor, as also to the security of Fortress Monroe.

Here then is the state of the question. Virginia must have the control of the mouth of the Hampton Roads. It is indispensable to her. Under our Union, it has been guarded and defended by the General Government, for the uses of Virginia, as also of all the States of the Union. The North cannot part with it. Virginia cannot part with it. The result is of necessity. Virginia and the Northern States must belong to one government, as they have done from the early colonial days.

I have spoken of the Hampton Roads as they concern the Country at large, and the State of Virginia in particular. As a citizen of Maryland, I have also a word to say. The State of Maryland, and especially the City of Baltimore, has an interest in the Hampton Roads, scarcely inferior to the State of Virginia herself. It is our outlying harbor, on our way to and from the sea. Its sheltering bosom floats annually, millions of our commerce, and thousands of our sailors. Maryland can never agree, under any circumstances, that her right to use this harbor shall depend on any other tenure than its ownership by the Country to which she belongs. The right to use this harbor in peace and war, is one of the noble blessings conferred by the Union on the State of Maryland. This right she can never surrender.

The great Valley of the Susquehanna empties its waters into the Chesapeake Bay, and affords to that part of the State of Pennsylvania its cheapest and safest outlet for her lumber, her iron, her coal, and a multitude of other heavy articles of commerce. These now mainly stop at ports of the Chesapeake, either for local use, or trans-shipment to the ports of the world. The interests of the Valley of the Susquehanna, in the free use, in peace and war, of the Hampton Roads, though not so great as those of Maryland and

Virginia, must nevertheless be looked to in the settlement of new boundaries, as now proposed.

It is perfectly certain that the great State of Pennsylvania utterly repudiates even a suggestion of a separation by her from the Union. She is at this moment calling into vigorous effort her great military power to preserve the Union of all the States. She proposes, and will agree, to no division whatever.

Recent events have shown the utter impossibility of defending Maryland against the northern part of our Country. The South cannot do it—not from any want of courage or conduct in the field—but for reasons beyond her control. The North, in command of the waters of the Chesapeake Bay, could at the same time plant her columns at Annapolis, or land them on the waters of the Patuxent, or on the lower borders of the Potomac, in numberless places, or march them by land to Cumberland, or Hagerstown, or Emmitsburg, or at the Maryland line where the Northern Central Railroad passes into Pennsylvania, or at various points on the Northern borders of Harford county. The Western Shore of Maryland is too small, and too deficient in strategic points, to allow for the deploying of large armies within her borders. If united with the South, she must be, by the ordination of nature, subject to the occupation of the North, in any contest it might wage with the South. Liability to such occupation must check the course of trade, of agriculture and commerce. Capital is proverbially timid. When the City of Baltimore belongs to a government that cannot defend her in war, she may bid farewell to those hopes of future greatness which her sons have fondly cherished.

People of the Eastern Shore, have any of your sons fairly and frankly told you your helpless condition in the event of a separation by Maryland from the North on Mason and Dixon's line? The home of my ancestors was amongst you. My early thoughts and affections first took root and form on your venerated soil. My earliest memories are of your suns rising from the Atlantic and setting in the Chesapeake.

The rustle of your autumn leaves still lingers on my ear; and my eyes see, as of yesterday, your woods adorned by a variety and splendor of foliage equalled no where else. The waters of the Pocomoke, where my ancestors, for many generations, dwelt on its lower banks, still flow by the grave of one, to whose self-denial and affection, I owe most that I deem valuable in life; and of another, loved and honored, who stood in the place of the father, of whom the infant memory of the orphan failed to record a trace. The Monokin, on whose well remembered stream I took in the rudiments of knowledge, and those still holier lessons of truth and honor, gathered from the lips of a pure and noble Mother; the Wicomico, scarcely less familiar or less dear, the scene of many happy hours which did much towards shaping and controlling the current of my maturer thoughts. These, and the kindred, and friends, and people, who inhabited their banks, are still sacred in the memories of the gray-haired man, as they were in the fresher days of his youth. People of the Eastern Shore, one at least of your sons, who though long parted from you, loves you most dearly, claims the right to tell you in plain language, the dangers that lie in wait if you leave the sheltering wing of the Union.

If war takes place between the North and the South what could you do? The North in command of the Chesapeake, could you come to the aid of your brethern of the Western Shore, or they go to you? The South could give you no protection. She could not get to you. If twenty or thirty thousand men were to march upon you from the open pass at the head of the Peninsula what would be your fate? Conquered, subdued, the foot of the victor planted on your necks, none the more gently because you had renounced the Government under which you had been happy, and whose sway was so gentle that you knew it only by its blessings.

People of the Eastern Shore, I speak to you frankly. Many of you are the children of the friends of my youth. Some of you are of my own kith and kin. I have no politi-

cal aspirations. If I had, I trust there is manhood enough about me to spurn their gratification, except in the paths of truth and candor. I speak to you fearlessly but loyally, when I say that separation from the Union on Mason and Dixon's line is, to you, destruction. It is to assume a position you cannot maintain. The very Institution which would lead you to separation, would perish at once under the heel of the victor; and you would receive such institutions as might in generosity be dealt out to you. If it were offered to you to-day, at your own free choice, and without question, to join a Southern Confederacy, with your northern border resting on Pennsylvania and Delaware, and you were to accept that offer, I say to you that the first war which might afterwards spring up with the North, would lead to your subjugation. The logic of events is irresistible. It is but another name for the unchangeable relation of cause and effect. Wo betide that man or that people who ventures to fly in the face of the decrees of Nature.

It is not for me to speak to the two Eastern Shore Counties of Virginia; and yet it would seem to be clear that the separation of Virginia from the Union would end, and must end, in the separation of those two Counties from Virginia. Their destination, in that event, I do not choose to prophesy, though it would appear to be indicated by signs too clear to be mistaken.

The Peninsula, composed of Delaware, the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the two Eastern Shore Counties of Virginia, lying between the Chesapeake and the Delaware River and Bay and the Atlantic, with an open mouth binding on Pennsylvania, and pierced in every direction by navigable streams and estuaries, cannot be defended by any Southern Confederacy. Situated between the two great Cities, Philadelphia and Baltimore, that Peninsula has the choice of the two markets of those commercial emporiums, whilst it belongs to our common Country. Divide that Country, and under laws of Nature higher than human laws, and stronger than human power, that region must cast its fortunes with

that part of the Union which can protect it in war, and to which in peace it would have to look for commerce and trade. Such are my firm and deep-rooted convictions, and in all the truth and candor of my soul I lay them before the people of the other Shore, as the offerings of a faithful son.

If I err not in the preceding positions, the conclusion would seem to be inevitable, that whatever may be the final result of the contest now unfortunately agitating our Country to its foundations, the states of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, are bound together by ties so strong that separation between them is impossible; and that should a new government be formed in the South in consequence of the present, or any future conflict, those States, in the end, will stand by the Union, and by each other. Without the command of the Hampton Roads, the commerce and maritime power of the North would be seriously crippled: without the free use of the Hampton Roads in peace and war, Virginia and Maryland would be crushed, and Pennsylvania seriously injured. Even if Pennsylvania were willing to yield those Roads, the northern border of Mason and Dixon's line, if separating her from another nationality, would be to Maryland an indefensible border, involving her in all the horrors of military occupation by the enemy during any war which the South might wage with the North; and, perhaps, in subjugation in the end.

Where then can you draw a dividing line through the territory of the United States, from East to West? I answer, No where. If our Country ever finally separates, the dividing line can only run from North to South. Such I believe to be the ordination of Nature. Fortunately this division is not sought by any part of our Country. If it were, I should regard the crisis as infinitely more appalling. The struggle then would be to do that which, though unwise, would not be inconsistent with the laws of Nature, as indicated by the courses of our mountains and streams. The effort now being made, is to divide us on some line, not only

without strategic points, but in violation of them; dependent for its course, as to whether the dwelling of the laborer is now occupied by the Anglo-Saxon, or by the African race; utterly forgetful of the fact, that the productions of each region are for the supply of the wants of the other; and that mutual wants and the power of mutual supply, constitute one of the strongest ligaments to bind a people together. This I trust is as impossible as it is unwise and suicidal.

It may perhaps be well to ask, Why is it that any part of our Country seeks a division of the Union? That Union was once sacred in the eyes of the whole American people. To the eye of the true statesman it never was more important to the whole Country than now. Why then seek to dissolve it?

But for the institution of slavery in some of the States, we would now be a united and happy people. And yet it cannot be denied, that this institution existed when the government was formed, and that the people of all the States agreed to constitute a common government, notwithstanding the existence of this peculiar institution. As in marriage, they agreed to take each other for better and for worse, with a full knowledge of the existence of the institution now the subject of difficulty and contention. Is it fair, is it honorable then, to charge upon the South the evils of an institution, the existence of which the North knew when the government was formed, and notwithstanding which the government was actually formed, and the Constitution adopted by all the States of the Union?

To this question, the only answer attempted by those who seek to re-open the terms of the Constitution, and to make war upon the institutions of a part of the country which existed at the formation of the government, and which are recognized as so existing by the Constitution itself, has assumed the form of the "Higher Law." If this term means any thing, it is that the system of slavery was criminal at the time the government was formed, should have been then abolished, and that the Constitution of the United States is,

on this subject, null and void, because it recognizes the existence of an institution which is at war with the high and pure doctrines of Christianity, and also with the highest and soundest generalizations of the human intellect on the relations which men sustain to each other.

Accordingly, the ownership of slaves has been made the test of Church membership in some of our largest ecclesiastical bodies. Works of fiction have been written with much of the grace and glow of eloquence, for the purpose of holding up the institution to the contempt and hatred of the good every where ; and the most wanton abuse has been heaped by one section of the Country upon the other.

As a consequence of this violent course on the one side, the opinions of the part of the Country where this institution exists, have undergone very serious changes, and it has there been held by many to be an institution based upon the highest moral and religious elements of our nature, and worthy to be encouraged and propagated, side by side, with the relations of husband and wife, parent and child.

It is respectfully submitted, that both sections of the country have, on this subject, fallen into grave error ; and that a clear comprehension of that error would do much towards restoring our brotherhood and union. The North errs in supposing that Christianity undertakes to interfere with, or establish, or alter, the forms of government, or the political institutions where it may be introduced. This, I apprehend, is not its mission. That it may in the end produce wholesome ameliorations and changes in the political institutions of a Country, by means of the elevating and refining influences it exerts on individual character, is most true. Except however as it works its noiseless way in the human soul, by purifying and ennobling its thoughts and emotions, Christianity does not prescribe any special form of government, or any particular set of political institutions. It enters alike the palace of the absolute sovereign, and the cottage of the humble laborer ; the mansion of the popular president, and

the dwelling of the citizen ; the princely halls of the master, and the humble cabin of the slave. In all these Christianity is equally at home ; to all she whispers the same lessons ; she bids each in his separate political sphere, whatever it may be, to purify and elevate his soul, and to accept with undoubting loyalty her pure, but simple teachings. The emperor and the laborer, the president and the citizen, the master and the slave, when brought under her holy and sublime teachings, each learns a lesson which makes him better fitted for the political duties to which the place assigned him by the laws may call him. Christianity neither prohibits nor sanctions slavery ; but prescribes to both master and slave, if such there be, the respective duties assigned to their state.

The political institutions of different Countries may widely differ, and yet each be best adapted to the moral, intellectual and physical development of its own people. To the mere abstract thinker, it may be equally difficult to reconcile with the dictates of reason and justice, a hereditary peerage, with high legislative powers dependent on the mere accident of birth ; or the transmission by law of the whole of a vast landed estate to the eldest son, to the exclusion of a dozen others, his equals, or perhaps superiors, in all manly and noble qualities ; or a hereditary throne, perpetuated by marriages in foreign Countries, resulting of necessity in a line of sovereigns of a different race from that of the people they are born to govern ; or the subjection of a race to the condition of domestic slavery, because of the color of its skin, and its comparatively recent descent from savage African ancestors. All these things may present equal difficulties in the field of mere abstract thought ; and yet the Englishman, as well as the American, might well stand aghast at any interference by rude and unfamiliar hands, with their peculiar institutions, interwoven as they are with the entire workings of their respective political systems.

If slavery did not exist in our Country, its introduction

would be a calamity as well as a crime. It was a great but a necessary sacrifice when the framers of our Constitution consented to the continuance of the African slave-trade for twenty years. The formation of the Government depended on that sacrifice, and it was made. Other concessions were also made in framing the Constitution, and rightfully made; because slavery was an existing institution, and had to be provided for. Let those provisions stand. Leave the master and the slave to work out their own destiny, under those kindly and affectionate relations which exist between them in numberless cases, to the equal honor of both. This, in my judgment, is the course approved by sound reason and an enlightened Christianity. It would be the crime of the age to break in upon this relation, as it exists in our Country, by any interference from without the States where it exists. Let the Southern man alone; do not anger him by unwarranted interference or abuse; and the North may be assured that, under the kindly sympathies of our nature, the South will ponder long and patiently over the ultimate means of disposing of a relation which, though a necessity in many places now, may, in the progress of events, cease to be so; and the removal of which by his own free act, at some future time, may take from off the heart of the master a load heavier than that which rests on the slave.

With profound diffidence, and yet impelled by a passionate love for my country—its honor and glory—I desire, People of Maryland—People of the United States—if I may dare address so imperial an audience—to lay before you the thoughts of a loyal son, as to the way of removing the difficulties under which the Country now labors; and which will surely end her career, unless this young nation, rising with lion-heart, resolves to defend the Union at all hazards, and to all extremities. Honor, patriotism, manhood, invoke this high resolve. Such I understand to be the National will. I share it. In the inmost depths of my soul, and with its most passionate impulses, I share it. I would

sooner dishonor my Mother's grave, or my Father's ashes, than raise my hand or my voice against the Union. Let it stand—let it stand—with ever increasing grandeur and glory, till the sun shall cease to gild the East with his morning rays, or to paint with golden pencil the evening clouds of the West.

If the South were asked whether she is willing to continue in the Union on any terms, what would be her answer? If that answer be, No, then it is for the manhood of the faithful sons of the Country, to maintain, against all comers, the National Flag and the National Union. It is lawful, it is honorable, to strike even a brother, if it be in defence of a mother. Utterly as I abhor civil war, I abhor disunion more. To divide our imperial domain for the sake of peace, would be a national weakness. It would be to shed rivers of blood in the future to save rivulets now. So long as the answer of the South to the question proposed is, No, the arbitrament of arms can only solve the issue.

But if our brethren of the South—for I still regard and love them as such—in answer to the question will say, Yes, then the whole phase is changed. That answer should be received with tears and embraces. The heart of the country would again beat in its old healthful tone—and the cry of the Nation would be, Let a Convention be called in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution. Let the best and wisest National men be elected as members of that august council, and let such amendments be proposed for the sanction of the States of the Union as will bind our people once more in the enduring bonds of brotherhood and peace.

Various propositions have been made, based upon such amendments of the Constitution as would be satisfactory to the Country. And yet it has seemed to me that deeper cautery is needed to cure the national ulcer at its root. May I then humbly venture to indicate amendments to the Constitution,

which, I suppose, are called for by the exigency of the times.

First.—A declaratory amendment, that in all future constructions of the Constitution, it shall be held that the Union of the States thereunder is, and shall be perpetual; and can and shall be sustained and upheld by the Government of the United States, all ordinances of any State Legislature, or of any State Convention to the contrary notwithstanding.

Second.—An express declaration, that in all future constructions of the Constitution, Congress shall have full power, either by a tariff on imports, or by excise laws, or by direct taxes, or by any one, or more, or all of these modes, to raise whatever money may be required by the government; and that in apportioning the duties on imports, Congress may, in its sound discretion, take into view such protection to American industry as it may deem wise and proper.

Third.—An amendment, prohibiting the acquisition of any more territory by the United States, except by the consent of nineteen-twentieths of all the Senators of the United States.

Fourth.—An amendment, prohibiting the importation of slaves from the Coast of Africa, or from any foreign country.

Fifth.—All the territories of the United States, now or hereafter owned, to be open to the introduction of slaves from any of the United States, or the territories thereof, and to be there held, so long as the same shall remain a territory; and that when said territory shall be admitted as a State, it shall be with or without slavery, as its constitution may provide.

Sixth.—Absolute non-interference by Congress with the system of slavery in any State, in which the same may be established by the laws thereof.

Seventh.—Absolute non-interference with slavery by the United States, in all the arsenals, dock-yards and forts thereof, located within the limits of any State, so long as slavery shall exist in such State by the laws thereof.

Eighth.—An absolute prohibition of the abolition, by the

Government of the United States, of slavery in the District of Columbia, so long as any State of the Union shall permit slavery therein.

Ninth.—Congress shall pass no law regulating or prohibiting the carrying of slaves from one slave State to another slave State; but that the same shall be subject only to the laws of the respective States from and to which such carrying shall take place.

Tenth.—An amendment, carefully drawn, by which the whole duty of delivering up persons "held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another," shall be imposed on the Government of the United States; and containing an absolute prohibition of any State-interference with the subject; the delivery of such person or persons to be made by the United States in the State from which such person or persons escaped, with provision for the trial in said last named State, in due course of law, by the courts of the United States, in case the facts upon which the proceeding is based are denied by such person or persons. If the officer of the United States charged with making the arrest or delivery of such person or persons, be prevented from doing so by any person or persons whatever, he shall return such fact to the United States' Court of the State where such resistance shall have been made, and it shall be the duty of said Court to pass an order directing the treasurer of the United States to pay the full value of said person or persons so claimed to be held to labor to the owner thereof, and all costs of Court and twenty-five per cent. additional for contingent expenses; and it shall be the duty of such treasurer to pay the same on demand; the said amount to be retained by the United States, together with six per cent. interest thereon from the time of payment, out of any monies that may thereafter be payable by the United States to the State in which the officer of the United States may have been prevented from making the arrest, or delivery as aforesaid.

Eleventh.—An amendment should be made, cutting up by the roots the doctrine of political proscription, and the consequent scramble for office, which has well nigh proved our ruin. This I am aware is a delicate and difficult task; but something would be achieved by requiring, in every case, that the officer who has the power of removal should be required to report, on his official responsibility, the reasons for said removal to the Senate of the United States.

Twelfth.—There should be an explicit declaration as to who may exercise the power of suspending the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, "when in cases of rebellion, or invasion, the public safety may require it." This question should be settled clearly, one way or the other. It is a great question, and requires, for the safe disposition of it, an enlarged statesmanship. Fortunately, this question is as broad as the Country, and equally concerns the whole people. No doubt there are also other amendments of the Constitution which might be wisely proposed, but it is not deemed advisable to suggest them now.

People of the North, say not that these concessions are too large. People of the South, say not that they are too small. Could they be introduced into our Constitution by amendments made according to its provisions, all just causes of complaint would be removed from every section of the Country; and the nation would once more present to the world the great example of a united, free, and happy people, bound to each other by indissoluble ties, and able to defend our rights against all who may dare to invade them.

The first proposed amendment, by finally strangling the hydra of secession, would be of more worth to our Country than mountains of gold. The second would relieve our legislative halls from all discussions as to the constitutionality of a tariff, and leave it, as it should be left, to the sound legislative discretion of Congress. The third would present to the world a noble example of a nation contented with her boundaries; and well may we be so, for they enclose an imperial area free from the invasion of all foreign foes. The

fourth is intended to prevent the possibility of future questions, and would not raise serious objections in any part of the Country.

The fifth proposed amendment is a concession to the South, which I think it would be right and wise to make. It would cut up by the roots a question which has well nigh shattered our magnificent Empire. If no more territory is to be acquired, may I not say to our brethren of the North, Refuse not this concession to your brethren of the South. Production and climate will soon settle the institutions of all the territory we now own. In the judgment of many, of the territory now owned by the Government, there is no part fitted for slave labor. Be that as it may, the concession would be in the spirit which first framed the Constitution; and would aid much in the restoration of peace, harmony, and brotherly love.

The sixth and seventh proposed amendments are fair and just, and ought to be freely conceded. The eighth is also, in my judgment, right and proper, as the southern man may well claim the right at all times hereafter to take the domestic attendants on himself and family, when he may visit the Capital of his Country, either for business or pleasure. The ninth is fair. Let the migration of slaves from one State to another, be dependent on the laws of the respective States. This right the southern man will never willingly yield.

The tenth proposition is but the fair carrying out of a clear provision of the Constitution. Honor, fairness, and patriotism all demand that it shall be fully enforced. The best plan of getting clear of personal-liberty laws of the States, intended to interfere with this right, is for the Constitution to deny all right of State interference with persons held by the process of the United States, as fugitives from service or labor. Surely the honor of the Government may be trusted that it will see no injustice be done in executing this power.

The eleventh amendment proposed, if the object can be achieved without destroying the efficiency of Executive ac-

tion, would be hailed throughout the country as giving fresh life and vigor to our institutions. The twelfth deals with a difficult question ; at the same time it is clearly right that the Constitution should speak in clear and explicit terms on that delicate and important subject.

These, People of my Country, are amendments which, if adopted, would, in my poor judgment, place the American people once more on the road to glory and renown. I offer them to you in the fullness of my heart, as my contribution to the welfare of a Government, in fidelity to which my heart knows no shadow of turning. I invoke the grave and patriotic thinkers of our land to pass judgment on them.

Put down the doctrine of secession forever as to the future; leave our revenues to be laid and collected, to the extent of our wants, to the sound discretion of Congress, without any possibility of constitutional question in the future; let the bounds of the Republic be closed except by unanimous consent; let the foreign slave-trade be absolutely prohibited; leave the territories, whilst such, free for the occupation of all our citizens with their institutions; proclaim absolute non-interference by the Government with slavery in the States where it may exist by the laws thereof; adopt the same rule in regard to all the United States arsenals, dock yards, and forts where, and whilst, they may be situate in slave States; give the right to all our citizens to visit and sojourn in the District of Columbia with their families and their attendants, so long as slavery may exist in any State in the Union; leave the States, respectively, to regulate the passing of slaves from one slave State to another slave State; let the Government undertake the entire question of the surrender of fugitives from service or labor; strike dead, by constitutional enactment, all power in the States to interfere, by personal-liberty laws or otherwise, with the action of the General Government in the premises, and provide a fair compensation to the owner, in case such surrender shall be prevented by force of any kind; annihilate the doc-

trine of political proscription; and make clear and specific constitutional declarations as to the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and by whom, and you will lay deep the foundations of our National Union, and restore, once more, throughout the North and the South, the East and the West, that deep rooted love for the whole Country which must ever constitute the true strength of the nation.

Do these things, and we shall never again behold the sad spectacle of American citizens dwarfing their loyalty to a State, rather than enlarging it to the Country. Do these things, and the words, the Union and the Constitution, will once more tower in lofty majesty over those far inferior words, the North or the South, the East or the West. Let it but once be admitted that the paramount loyalty of the citizen is due to the General Government, and this nation will no more have cause to grieve over the course of many of her children, who in their love for their particular State, or section, seem to have forgotten that they have a Country.

The Genius of America, of late, has shed bitter tears over the desertion of many of her sons whom she had trained under her banners, and to whom she believed she might safely commit the Flag of the Nation on every field and against every foe. Others have proved worthy of her care and confidence, and are ready this day to uphold the National Flag against father, brother, child or state. May I say to these noble men, You are treading in the track trodden by heroes before you. In sustaining your Country against all enemies, domestic or foreign, you show that you understand full well the duties of an American citizen—a name prouder and more sacred than that which the great Apostle vouched as his protector and shield.

Amongst these brave and noble men, the tall and venerable form of their great Chief stands proudly pre-eminent. Virginia gave him birth, in days when she devoted from the cradle the noblest of her sons to the Country. She formed his soul too great to yield its allegiance to a State or a sec-

tion. Amidst her tears, the Genius of our country smiles fondly on him, the greatest and truest of her living sons. Others have faltered; he has proved true. In many a battle-field he has borne our flag so bravely, that the future Plutarch may well hesitate, whether the greater glory has, by him, been received from, or conferred on, the stars and stripes. Venerable man! a nation prays that you may live to see your Country once more united and happy: and when in the fullness of time your weeping countrymen shall, with reverent care, commit your noble form to its last resting place, another will have been added to the sacred places of our Country, where American youth may best learn the simple but grand lessons of *courage*, *conduct* and *fidelity*.

People of Maryland, the kindness with which many of you have heretofore heard me, has encouraged me to speak to you again. I shrink with apprehension lest any one should suppose that I seek notoriety. Those of you who know me will bear witness that, so far from seeking the public gaze, my life has been passed in the secluded paths of my profession. I speak to you now, because my soul is moved to its utmost depths, by the—perhaps—dying struggles of my Country. Hot tears have stained these pages. I am not ashamed to confess it. I watch the throes of my Country as I would the dying bed of a mother; impotent to give help, and yet impelled by feelings beyond my control, to attempt any conceivable aid. It may be *that aid* will be of no avail: and yet I cannot but struggle, as best I may, to avert the terrible blow which aims to strike from my soul the pride, the love, the homage, the worship, which, for sixty years, it has borne for the Union. If that blow fail of its fell purpose, I will give thanks to God for the greatest earthly blessing that could be conferred upon me. If it succeed, it will be but left for me to shed over the ruins of my Country, tears more bitter, more scalding, than those which water the grave of a pure and noble Mother.

WILLIAM H. COLLINS.

Baltimore, September 2, 1861.

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